

## Supplemental Rebuttal Expert Report

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "John Alford", is positioned above a horizontal line.

John Alford

April 16, 2025

### **Scope of Inquiry**

I have been retained by the Texas Attorney General as an expert to provide analysis of issues raised by the various plaintiffs related to the redrawing of Texas Congressional, State House, State Senate, and State Board of Education districts, specifically focused on Gingles 2 and 3 and Racially Polarized Voting (RPV). This report updates my analysis with my responses to the supplemental reports provided by the various plaintiffs' experts on March 31, 2025. My rate of compensation as an expert is \$600 per hour.

### **Qualifications**

I am a tenured professor of political science at Rice University. In my forty years at Rice, I have taught courses on redistricting, elections, political representation, voting behavior, and statistical methods at both the undergraduate and graduate level. Over the last thirty-five years, I have worked with numerous Texas cities and school boards on districting plans and on Voting Rights Act issues. I have previously provided expert reports and/or testified as an expert witness on voting rights and statistical issues in a variety of court cases, working for the U.S. Attorney in Houston, the Texas Attorney General, a U.S. Congressman, and various cities and school districts.

In the 2000 round of redistricting, I was retained as an expert to provide advice to the Texas Attorney General in his role as Chair of the Legislative Redistricting Board. I subsequently served as the expert for the State of Texas in the state and federal litigation involving the 2001 redistricting for U.S. Congress, the Texas Senate, the Texas House of Representatives, and the Texas State Board of Education.

In the 2010 round of redistricting in Texas, I was again retained as an expert by the State of Texas to assist in defending various state election maps and systems including the district maps for the U.S. Congress, the Texas Senate, the Texas House of Representatives, and the current at large system for electing Justices to the State Supreme Court and Court of Appeals, as well as the winner-take-all system for allocating Electoral College votes.

I have also worked as an expert on redistricting and voting rights cases at the state and/or local level in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi,

New Mexico, New York, Pennsylvania, Washington, and Wisconsin.

The details of my academic background and qualifications, including all publications in the last ten years, and work as an expert, including all cases in which I have testified by deposition or at trial in the last four years, are included in my curriculum vitae, which is attached to this report as Appendix A.

### **Data and Sources**

In preparing my report I have relied on election returns collected by the Texas Legislative Council and on reports of the proportion of Spanish Surnamed voters available from the Texas Secretary of State. The tables in this report are assembled from the EI analysis provided by other experts in their March 31, 2025, supplements or in the replication files disclosed with those reports.

### **2022 and 2024 General Elections**

In my supplemental report dated March 31, 2025, I indicated that I intended to follow my previous practice of relying, if possible, on the EI results produced by Prof. Ansolabehere for the 2022 and 2024 election update, and that I would provide tables of results summarized for Anglo, Black and Hispanic candidates for 2022 and 2024 when they were available from plaintiff's experts. The results for 2022 and 2024 were provided by Prof. Ansolabehere in his supplemental report dated March 31, 2025, and I have been able to replicate those results closely enough to be satisfied that I can again rely on Prof. Ansolabehere's EI analysis results. The 2022 and 2024 update to my Table 4 from my report dated July 17, 2022, is produced below in Table 1.

In my previous report I summarized the results for Table 4 for 2016-2020 as indicating that: "Minority voters, whether Black, Hispanic or Asian show no more tendency to vote for minority Democratic candidates than they do for non-minority Democratic candidates. Similarly, Anglo voters show no more tendency to vote in opposition to minority Democratic candidates than they do to vote in opposition to Anglo Democratic candidates" (page 5). The results provided for 2022-2024 here are completely compatible with the earlier results for 2016-2020, again based on the EI analysis from Prof. Ansolabehere. As such, they do not in any way change my previous conclusions.

The fact that this pattern of polarization is partisan permeates the other aspects of these reports as well. The measures of district performance based on expected wins and losses in various reports are no more than expected Democratic party candidate performance. Similarly other performance measures based on expected share of the vote for ‘minority preferred candidates are simply the expected or actual Democratic share of the vote in a district. The dots and pluses on Prof. Baretto’s RVP maps simply highlight the precincts that vote more Democratic (plus signs) than average for the geography or less Democratic (dots) than average. Similarly, any district that has ‘weakened’ is simply a district that votes more Republican than previously. Any district that is stronger is simply a district that votes more Democratic.

Table 1: Summary of General Election EI estimates for Statewide Elections in All 38 Enacted Congressional Districts (Ansolabehere Estimates 2022-2024 and 2016-2020)

2022-2024						From My Previous Table 4 (2016-2020)			
CD	Race of Democratic Candidate	Avg. Black Vote for Dem	Avg. Hispanic Vote for Dem	Avg. Asian Vote for Dem	Avg. Anglo Support for Dem	Avg. Black Vote for Dem	Avg. Hispanic Vote for Dem	Avg. Asian Vote for Dem	Avg. Anglo Support for Dem
1	Black	88%	76%	73%	8%	88%	80%	54%	8%
1	Hispanic	89%	79%	76%	7%	87%	79%	70%	7%
1	Anglo	89%	77%	71%	7%	88%	80%	62%	8%
2	Black	81%	57%	71%	22%	86%	67%	65%	19%
2	Hispanic	82%	61%	61%	23%	87%	63%	67%	18%
2	Anglo	81%	59%	67%	21%	84%	67%	68%	20%
3	Black	76%	61%	80%	23%	76%	77%	83%	20%
3	Hispanic	78%	58%	81%	23%	79%	74%	83%	19%
3	Anglo	76%	63%	79%	21%	78%	73%	82%	22%
4	Black	72%	76%	89%	13%	80%	79%	89%	13%
4	Hispanic	76%	80%	88%	13%	80%	79%	86%	11%
4	Anglo	75%	76%	87%	12%	80%	78%	88%	14%
5	Black	88%	84%	72%	10%	88%	88%	76%	10%
5	Hispanic	87%	87%	80%	12%	88%	88%	72%	9%
5	Anglo	86%	86%	75%	11%	89%	88%	74%	11%
6	Black	81%	81%	81%	13%	82%	87%	85%	12%
6	Hispanic	81%	81%	84%	15%	82%	86%	85%	11%
6	Anglo	81%	81%	84%	14%	82%	86%	85%	13%
7	Black	69%	61%	54%	61%	78%	74%	64%	56%
7	Hispanic	67%	68%	61%	62%	78%	73%	67%	54%
7	Anglo	68%	67%	56%	61%	79%	73%	66%	57%
8	Black	72%	75%	77%	9%	80%	84%	81%	9%
8	Hispanic	77%	77%	81%	10%	79%	84%	79%	9%
8	Anglo	73%	73%	77%	10%	81%	84%	79%	10%
9	Black	93%	68%	46%	56%	96%	81%	52%	51%
9	Hispanic	94%	70%	53%	61%	95%	81%	56%	48%
9	Anglo	94%	68%	47%	57%	96%	81%	51%	52%
10	Black	76%	68%	89%	24%	77%	79%	80%	22%
10	Hispanic	74%	77%	90%	26%	76%	76%	80%	21%
10	Anglo	74%	73%	88%	24%	77%	78%	80%	23%
11	Black	87%	59%	59%	8%	89%	72%	77%	9%
11	Hispanic	85%	64%	73%	9%	89%	74%	71%	8%
11	Anglo	85%	59%	64%	8%	89%	73%	72%	9%
12	Black	79%	72%	62%	25%	83%	78%	67%	22%
12	Hispanic	81%	66%	67%	29%	82%	79%	60%	21%
12	Anglo	79%	69%	63%	26%	83%	78%	63%	23%
13	Black	80%	55%	78%	15%	73%	71%	70%	16%
13	Hispanic	75%	68%	81%	16%	71%	73%	70%	16%
13	Anglo	77%	60%	76%	15%	72%	71%	72%	16%
14	Black	89%	69%	76%	15%	92%	79%	79%	13%
14	Hispanic	91%	71%	77%	16%	92%	80%	79%	12%
14	Anglo	90%	70%	79%	14%	92%	80%	76%	13%
15	Black	41%	61%	51%	12%	45%	76%	54%	11%
15	Hispanic	49%	69%	53%	11%	50%	75%	53%	10%
15	Anglo	42%	64%	53%	11%	46%	76%	56%	11%
16	Black	45%	71%	47%	36%	51%	84%	45%	26%
16	Hispanic	52%	80%	46%	32%	54%	84%	53%	22%
16	Anglo	48%	75%	42%	33%	49%	84%	48%	26%
17	Black	81%	84%	81%	15%	84%	87%	74%	16%
17	Hispanic	85%	86%	83%	17%	83%	87%	76%	15%
17	Anglo	81%	85%	79%	16%	83%	87%	71%	17%
18	Black	93%	53%	58%	60%	96%	79%	58%	51%
18	Hispanic	95%	61%	56%	62%	96%	77%	60%	49%
18	Anglo	94%	56%	53%	60%	96%	77%	56%	52%
19	Black	77%	51%	72%	13%	77%	71%	67%	12%
19	Hispanic	77%	60%	83%	13%	75%	73%	68%	11%
19	Anglo	76%	52%	75%	13%	75%	70%	70%	12%

(continued)

Table 1 (continued): Summary of General Election EI estimates for Statewide Elections in All 38 Enacted Congressional Districts (Ansolabehere Estimates 2022-2024 and 2016-2020)

2022-2024						From My Previous Table 4 (2016-2020)			
CD	Race of Democratic Candidate	Avg. Black Vote for Dem	Avg. Hispanic Vote for Dem	Avg Asian Vote for Dem	Avg. Anglo Support for Dem	Avg. Black Vote for Dem	Avg. Hispanic Vote for Dem	Avg Asian Vote for Dem	Avg. Anglo Support for Dem
		Dem	Dem	Dem	Dem	Dem	Dem	Dem	Dem
20	Black	58%	74%	54%	49%	70%	84%	61%	36%
20	Hispanic	56%	81%	60%	50%	63%	84%	69%	34%
20	Anglo	57%	78%	65%	45%	68%	84%	61%	36%
21	Black	69%	74%	66%	27%	76%	79%	65%	24%
21	Hispanic	70%	79%	73%	28%	75%	78%	68%	23%
21	Anglo	71%	77%	71%	26%	78%	76%	64%	26%
22	Black	81%	47%	69%	20%	83%	57%	69%	17%
22	Hispanic	82%	52%	76%	20%	83%	56%	69%	15%
22	Anglo	83%	48%	71%	19%	83%	56%	70%	18%
23	Black	65%	56%	71%	27%	58%	75%	61%	21%
23	Hispanic	67%	65%	73%	26%	57%	74%	68%	19%
23	Anglo	68%	61%	75%	25%	58%	73%	66%	21%
24	Black	60%	64%	52%	36%	65%	67%	67%	30%
24	Hispanic	62%	74%	54%	37%	64%	67%	68%	28%
24	Anglo	62%	68%	60%	34%	65%	69%	64%	31%
25	Black	88%	78%	86%	12%	92%	77%	88%	14%
25	Hispanic	87%	80%	91%	15%	91%	77%	89%	13%
25	Anglo	88%	78%	88%	13%	91%	79%	88%	15%
26	Black	83%	71%	86%	20%	83%	74%	81%	18%
26	Hispanic	83%	63%	86%	23%	81%	78%	80%	16%
26	Anglo	82%	69%	84%	20%	81%	78%	80%	19%
27	Black	63%	77%	63%	13%	67%	86%	67%	12%
27	Hispanic	69%	86%	73%	13%	62%	85%	65%	11%
27	Anglo	65%	82%	61%	12%	62%	86%	68%	13%
28	Black	84%	63%	49%	23%	88%	79%	63%	18%
28	Hispanic	82%	73%	73%	21%	88%	77%	63%	16%
28	Anglo	85%	68%	65%	20%	88%	77%	62%	18%
29	Black	85%	62%	51%	56%	88%	84%	60%	37%
29	Hispanic	85%	72%	63%	56%	88%	84%	56%	36%
29	Anglo	84%	66%	60%	54%	88%	84%	55%	39%
30	Black	94%	67%	40%	58%	96%	80%	45%	55%
30	Hispanic	94%	71%	48%	62%	96%	80%	48%	51%
30	Anglo	94%	69%	45%	58%	96%	80%	47%	54%
31	Black	60%	73%	80%	26%	61%	80%	71%	23%
31	Hispanic	50%	71%	79%	27%	61%	83%	78%	19%
31	Anglo	59%	72%	80%	25%	61%	82%	70%	23%
32	Black	74%	79%	56%	58%	80%	86%	63%	54%
32	Hispanic	72%	83%	66%	60%	80%	86%	59%	52%
32	Anglo	75%	81%	59%	58%	81%	84%	66%	54%
33	Black	90%	76%	52%	59%	92%	89%	56%	55%
33	Hispanic	90%	85%	56%	61%	92%	89%	53%	51%
33	Anglo	90%	79%	56%	58%	93%	88%	52%	55%
34	Black	61%	59%	37%	31%	53%	76%	49%	23%
34	Hispanic	57%	70%	36%	29%	41%	75%	48%	22%
34	Anglo	54%	64%	46%	30%	50%	76%	45%	22%
35	Black	63%	70%	54%	73%	78%	83%	53%	64%
35	Hispanic	62%	74%	47%	77%	76%	83%	44%	65%
35	Anglo	64%	71%	51%	74%	79%	83%	52%	63%
36	Black	84%	75%	66%	12%	85%	77%	62%	12%
36	Hispanic	83%	78%	70%	13%	84%	76%	68%	11%
36	Anglo	82%	76%	69%	12%	85%	79%	64%	12%
37	Black	62%	67%	62%	81%	77%	69%	44%	77%
37	Hispanic	57%	71%	63%	83%	77%	61%	48%	75%
37	Anglo	61%	72%	57%	80%	74%	65%	47%	78%
38	Black	63%	57%	63%	28%	69%	64%	71%	22%
38	Hispanic	60%	56%	69%	28%	65%	67%	68%	22%
38	Anglo	61%	55%	65%	27%	63%	65%	70%	24%

## Primaries

In my report dated July 18, 2022, I focused on Prof. Duchin’s analysis of Democratic primaries, as she had the most comprehensive coverage of those contests. Prof. Duchin has not supplemented her report, and as such I stand by my earlier comments and conclusion based on her earlier reports. I also indicated in my July 18, 2022, report that I focused largely on the section of Prof. Grumbach’s report that provided an EI analysis of Republican primaries because he had the most comprehensive coverage of those contests. I stand by my earlier comments and conclusion based on his earlier reports, and comment here only on his additional primaries for 2022 and 2024 found in his supplemental report dated March 30, 2025.

In in the file Endogenous Elections.xlsx, which he appended to this Report, Prof. Grumbach provides EI analysis for six 2022 endogenous elections primary elections, three Democratic primary and three Republican primaries. He summarizes his findings on page 25 saying that “non-Latino bloc voting also occurs in some primary elections, such as the 2022 Republican primary for State Board of Education District 2. In this election, I find that about 69% of Latino voters supported Latino candidate of choice Hilda Garza-DeShazo, but this Latino candidate of choice lost the election because she only won 25% of non-Latino voters.”

Table 2: 2022-24 Grumbach Endogenous Primary Elections

<u>Elections 2022-2024</u>		
<u>District, Election, and Latino</u> <u>Candidate of Choice:</u>	<u>Latino</u>	<u>Non-Latino</u>
p22 DemRO CD15 Ramirez	52.05	45.2
	(50.15 - 53.95)	(41.4 - 49)
p22 DemRO HD37 Villarreal	51.37	54.89
	(48 - 54.74)	(48.15 - 61.63)
p22 DemRO SBOE2 Perez	58.48	50.3
	(57.26 - 59.7)	(47.6 - 53)
p22 Rep HD37 Lopez	71.99	65.7
	(66.5 - 77.48)	(58.35 - 73.05)
p22 Rep SBOE2 GarzaDeShazo	68.69	24.88
	(66.96 - 70.42)	(23.78 - 25.98)
p22 RepRO CD35 McQueen	57.97	62.86
	(53.9 - 62.04)	(60.63 - 65.09)

Table 2 above extracts the six recent endogenous primary elections from Prof. Grumbach’s larger spreadsheet. As his summary suggests, the 2022 Republican SBOE District 2 contest does indicate relatively cohesive Latino voting for Garza-DeShazo, and relatively high non-Latino voting against her, but in the other two Republican primaries Latinos and non-Latinos share the

same preferred candidate. The same lack of polarizations is also apparent in the three endogenous Democratic primaries.

In his table of exogenous 2022-2024 primary elections Prof. Grumbach includes only two Republican contests, a Tarrant County District judge contest and the Republican primary runoff for Attorney General between Ken Paxton and George P. Bush. Prof. Grumbach's EI results for the Tarrant County contest are provided in Table 3 below. About two-thirds of Latino voters are supporting Rivera, but non-Latino crossover, at over 40%, is very high.

Table 3: 2022 Grumbach Exogenous Republican Primary Election in Tarrant County

District	Election & Latino Candidate of Choice	Latino	Non-Latino	Winner in District
Enacted CD 6	p22 Rep TarrantCoDistJudgeD324 Rivera	66.45	40.19	Poulos
Enacted CD 12	p22 Rep TarrantCoDistJudgeD324 Rivera	65.47	40.32	Poulos
Enacted CD 24	p22 Rep TarrantCoDistJudgeD324 Rivera	61.44	40.75	Poulos
Enacted CD 25	p22 Rep TarrantCoDistJudgeD324 Rivera	62.12	40.65	Poulos
Enacted CD 30	p22 Rep TarrantCoDistJudgeD324 Rivera	66.3	40.22	Poulos
Enacted CD 33	p22 Rep TarrantCoDistJudgeD324 Rivera	65.05	40.34	Poulos
Enacted SD 9	p22 Rep TarrantCoDistJudgeD324 Rivera	64.45	40.44	Poulos
Enacted SD 10	p22 Rep TarrantCoDistJudgeD324 Rivera	64.73	40.39	Poulos
Enacted SD 12	p22 Rep TarrantCoDistJudgeD324 Rivera	67.23	40.1	Poulos
Enacted SD 21	p22 Rep TarrantCoDistJudgeD324 Rivera	66.42	40.21	Poulos
Enacted SD 22	p22 Rep TarrantCoDistJudgeD324 Rivera	64.96	40.36	Poulos
Enacted SD 23	p22 Rep TarrantCoDistJudgeD324 Rivera	63.57	40.51	Poulos

In the Republican primary runoff for Attorney General between Ken Paxton and George P. Bush. Prof. Grumbach's EI results, presented below in Table 4, do not indicate polarized voting. Both Latinos and non-Latinos favor Paxton. As it happens, the 2022 Democratic primary for Attorney General was also ethnically contested and is included in the recent primaries that Prof. Grumbach analyzed. Those results are provided below in Table 5. Like the Republican primary, Grumbach's EI results for the Democratic primary do not indicate polarized voting. Both Latinos and non-Latinos favor Garza over Jaworski.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In several of the districts included in Prof. Grumbach's results, as reproduced below in Tables 4 and 5, the candidate listed as the winning candidate is not the preferred candidate of either Latino or non-Latino voters. This seems to suggest that the identification of the winning candidate in that district is incorrect. I was not able to confirm the source of this seeming contradiction because the various results files disclosed by Prof. Grumbach with his March 31, 2025 report fail to include any elections after 2020. Prof. Stevenson, who provides statistical programming under my direction, was able to re-run the code provided by Prof. Grumbach and the results were substantively similar to those reported here from Prof. Grumbach's tables, however it was also obvious that the code Prof. Grumbach relied on was not ideal and as such I am able to speak only to the broad substantive patterns



Table 4: 2022 Grumbach Exogenous Republican Primary Election Texas AG

District	Election & Latino Candidate of Choice	Latino	Non-Latino	Winner in District
Enacted CD 6	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	79.17	66.48	Paxton
Enacted CD 7	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	76.11	66.9	Paxton
Enacted CD 8	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	74.47	67.12	Paxton
Enacted CD 10	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	75.94	66.95	Paxton
Enacted CD 12	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	73.11	67.33	Paxton
Enacted CD 15	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	75.49	67	Paxton
Enacted CD 17	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	74.78	67.08	Paxton
Enacted CD 18	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	75.71	66.95	Paxton
Enacted CD 24	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	70.21	67.71	Paxton
Enacted CD 25	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	75.75	66.97	Paxton
Enacted CD 27	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	74.28	67.18	Paxton
Enacted CD 29	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	79.05	66.53	Paxton
Enacted CD 30	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	78.92	66.47	Paxton
Enacted CD 32	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	77.92	66.64	Paxton
Enacted CD 33	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	80.19	66.39	Paxton
Enacted CD 35	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	74.99	67.03	Paxton
Enacted CD 37	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	73.32	67.28	Bush
Enacted CD 38	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	80.37	66.31	Paxton
Enacted ED 4	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	73.91	67.22	Paxton
Enacted ED 6	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	76.53	66.86	Paxton
Enacted ED 7	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	77.04	66.79	Paxton
Enacted ED 8	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	71.16	67.61	Paxton
Enacted HD 17	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	77.69	66.7	Paxton
Enacted HD 44	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	76.41	66.87	Paxton
Enacted HD 45	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	76.76	66.79	Paxton
Enacted HD 48	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	72.22	67.47	Bush
Enacted HD 51	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	75.03	67.04	Paxton
Enacted HD 126	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	73.78	67.23	Paxton
Enacted HD 129	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	79.57	66.42	Paxton
Enacted HD 131	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	79.63	66.43	Paxton
Enacted HD 138	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	77.21	66.77	Paxton
Enacted HD 139	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	71.98	67.48	Paxton
Enacted HD 140	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	72.36	67.43	Paxton
Enacted HD 144	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	74.38	67.13	Paxton
Enacted HD 145	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	73.32	67.28	Paxton
Enacted HD 147	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	72.48	67.38	Paxton
Enacted HD 148	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	75.13	67.01	Paxton
Enacted SD 5	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	75.76	66.95	Paxton
Enacted SD 9	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	72.14	67.45	Paxton
Enacted SD 10	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	72.4	67.39	Paxton
Enacted SD 12	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	73.37	67.29	Paxton
Enacted SD 14	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	79.67	66.42	Bush
Enacted SD 16	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	72.6	67.36	Paxton
Enacted SD 19	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	78.01	66.63	Paxton
Enacted SD 21	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	73.99	67.22	Paxton
Enacted SD 22	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	69.69	67.81	Paxton
Enacted SD 23	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	72.75	67.36	Paxton
Enacted SD 25	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	70.07	67.75	Paxton
Enacted SD 26	p22 RepRO ATG Paxton	77.67	66.7	Paxton

and cannot endorse any of the specific estimates. For that reason, I am continuing to rely predominately here, as I did in previous reports, on the EI estimates provided by Prof. Ansolabehere and Prof. Duchin.

Table 5: 2022 Grumbach Exogenous Democratic Primary Election Texas AG

District	Election & Latino Candidate of Choice	Latino	Non-Latino	Winner in District
Enacted CD 6	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	80.38	58.6	Garza
Enacted CD 7	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	78.35	58.85	Jaworski
Enacted CD 8	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	82.52	58.21	Garza
Enacted CD 10	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	78.88	58.83	Garza
Enacted CD 12	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	81.67	58.25	Garza
Enacted CD 15	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	76.07	59.37	Garza
Enacted CD 17	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	75.22	59.32	Garza
Enacted CD 18	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	74.63	59.61	Jaworski
Enacted CD 24	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	79.54	58.77	Garza
Enacted CD 25	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	75.82	59.43	Garza
Enacted CD 27	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	75.86	59.38	Garza
Enacted CD 29	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	78.79	58.79	Garza
Enacted CD 30	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	79.02	58.78	Garza
Enacted CD 32	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	74.86	59.43	Garza
Enacted CD 33	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	80.99	58.5	Garza
Enacted CD 35	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	76.14	59.21	Garza
Enacted CD 37	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	73.8	59.72	Garza
Enacted CD 38	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	80.91	58.63	Jaworski
Enacted ED 4	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	79.1	58.77	Jaworski
Enacted ED 6	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	81.77	58.29	Jaworski
Enacted ED 7	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	82.51	58.24	Garza
Enacted ED 8	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	77.04	59.18	Garza
Enacted HD 17	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	76.43	59.23	Garza
Enacted HD 44	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	79.17	58.79	Garza
Enacted HD 45	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	80.03	58.56	Garza
Enacted HD 48	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	76.91	59.27	Garza
Enacted HD 51	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	79.98	58.78	Garza
Enacted HD 126	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	78.3	58.94	Jaworski
Enacted HD 129	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	78.86	58.71	Jaworski
Enacted HD 131	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	80.87	58.45	Jaworski
Enacted HD 138	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	69.91	60.39	Jaworski
Enacted HD 139	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	79.54	58.78	Jaworski
Enacted HD 140	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	75.17	59.26	Garza
Enacted HD 144	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	79.21	58.63	Jaworski
Enacted HD 145	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	79.48	58.78	Jaworski
Enacted HD 147	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	78.97	58.99	Jaworski
Enacted HD 148	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	78.93	58.9	Jaworski
Enacted SD 5	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	78.37	59.01	Garza
Enacted SD 9	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	79.92	58.69	Garza
Enacted SD 10	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	80.2	58.61	Garza
Enacted SD 12	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	77.23	59.08	Garza
Enacted SD 14	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	80.52	58.58	Garza
Enacted SD 16	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	78.44	58.91	Garza
Enacted SD 19	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	76.88	59.16	Garza
Enacted SD 21	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	75.77	59.35	Garza
Enacted SD 22	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	77.66	59.05	Garza
Enacted SD 23	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	73.94	59.64	Garza
Enacted SD 25	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	78.16	59.13	Garza
Enacted SD 26	p22 DemRO ATG Garza	82	58.32	Garza

Nothing in the analysis provided for these more recent primary elections changes my previous conclusion based on Prof. Grumbach's analysis of Republican primaries, and Prof. Duchin's analysis of Democratic primaries, that these primaries are not typically polarized.

## **Conclusion**

In the 2022 round of reports plaintiffs' experts (including Ansolabehere, Barreto, Collingwood, Duchin, Enos, and Grumbach) provided election analysis based on general elections, and relied on the results of that analysis to assert repeatedly that Texas minority voters, both as individual minority groups, and collectively as a Black/Hispanic or Black/Hispanic/Asian minority coalition, vote in a highly and uniformly cohesive fashion for Democratic candidates. Similarly, these experts asserted that the evidence from their analysis of general elections established that non-minority voters vote in a cohesive and uniform fashion for Republican candidates. This analysis, for whatever enacted districts, proposed districts, or county or regional geography, only demonstrates partisan polarization, and partisan voting, in and of itself, does not establish racially polarized voting. As discussed above, the updated analysis for the 2022 and 2024 elections provided by a subset of these experts in reports from March of this year, does nothing to change this clear pattern of partisan polarization connected closely to the party affiliation of the candidates as indicated on the ballot, importantly not connected in any significant way to the race or ethnicity of the candidates. While I have not included a repetitive plan by plan or district by district recitation of this point, it applies in equal force to each of the enacted districts that have been challenged here and to each of the new minority/majority districts that have been proposed here.

Primary elections provide an opportunity to assess racial and ethnic voting patterns in a setting less obscured by the partisan polarization evident in general elections. In the 2022 round of reports most of the experts provided only limited analysis of primaries, if any. The most comprehensive analysis of Democratic primaries was provided in Prof. Duchin's supplement, and that analysis was discussed in detail and at length in my 2022 report. Prof. Duchin's results provided no evidence of consistent polarization in the Democratic primaries, and Prof. Duchin did not supplement her earlier analysis with any new results for the 2022 or 2024 primaries. Similarly, the most comprehensive analysis of Republican primaries in the 2022 round of

reports, provided by Grumbach, did not establish that Anglos vote consistently as a bloc to defeat minority preferred candidates in the Republican primary. As discussed above, the updated analysis for the 2022 and 2024 primary elections reinforces this conclusion. Again, as indicated above for the general elections results, these conclusions regarding the primary analysis apply broadly to the challenged and proposed districts across the experts.

**Appendix A**

**Alford CV**

## John R. Alford

Curriculum Vitae

April 2025

Dept. of Political Science  
Rice University - MS-24  
P.O. Box 1892  
Houston, Texas 77251-1892  
713-348-3364  
jra@rice.edu

### Employment:

Full Professor, Rice University, 2015 to present.  
Associate Professor, Rice University, 1985-2015.  
Assistant Professor, University of Georgia, 1981-1985.  
Instructor, Oakland University, 1980-1981.  
Teaching-Research Fellow, University of Iowa, 1977-1980.  
Research Associate, Institute for Urban Studies, Houston, Texas, 1976-1977.

### Education:

Ph.D., University of Iowa, Political Science, 1981.  
M.A., University of Iowa, Political Science, 1980.  
M.P.A., University of Houston, Public Administration, 1977.  
B.S., University of Houston, Political Science, 1975.

### Books:

*Predisposed: Liberals, Conservatives, and the Biology of Political Differences*. New York: Routledge, 2013. Co-authors, John R. Hibbing and Kevin B. Smith. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition 2024.

### Articles:

“Political Attitudes Vary with Detection of Androstenone.” With Kevin Smith, Amanda Friesen, and Mike Gruszczynski. **Politics and the Life Sciences**. (Spring, 2020).

“Intuitive ethics and political orientations: Testing moral foundations as a theory of political ideology.” with Kevin Smith, John Hibbing, Nicholas Martin, and Peter Hatemi. **American Journal of Political Science**. (April, 2017).

“The Genetic and Environmental Foundations of Political, Psychological, Social, and Economic Behaviors: A Panel Study of Twins and Families.” with Peter Hatemi, Kevin Smith, and John Hibbing. **Twin Research and Human Genetics**. (May, 2015.)

“Liberals and conservatives: Non-convertible currencies.” With John R. Hibbing and Kevin B. Smith. **Behavioral and Brain Sciences** (January, 2015).

“Non-Political Images Evoke Neural Predictors Of Political Ideology.” with Woo-Young Ahn, Kenneth T. Kishida, Xiaosi Gu, Terry Lohrenz, Ann Harvey, Kevin Smith, Gideon Yaffe, John Hibbing, Peter Dayan, P. Read Montague. **Current Biology**. (November, 2014).

“Cortisol and Politics: Variance in Voting Behavior is Predicted by Baseline Cortisol Levels.” with Jeffrey French, Kevin Smith, Adam Guck, Andrew Birnie, and John Hibbing. **Physiology & Behavior**. (June, 2014).

“Differences in Negativity Bias Underlie Variations in Political Ideology.” with Kevin B. Smith and John R. Hibbing. **Behavioral and Brain Sciences**. (June, 2014).

“Negativity bias and political preferences: A response to commentators Response.” with Kevin B. Smith and John R. Hibbing. **Behavioral and Brain Sciences**. (June, 2014).

“Genetic and Environmental Transmission of Political Orientations.” with Carolyn L. Funk, Matthew Hibbing, Kevin B. Smith, Nicholas R. Eaton, Robert F. Krueger, Lindon J. Eaves, John R. Hibbing. **Political Psychology**, (December, 2013).

“Biology, Ideology, and Epistemology: How Do We Know Political Attitudes Are Inherited and Why Should We Care?” with Kevin Smith, Peter K. Hatemi, Lindon J. Eaves, Carolyn Funk, and John R. Hibbing. **American Journal of Political Science**. (January, 2012)

“Disgust Sensitivity and the Neurophysiology of Left-Right Political Orientations.” with Kevin Smith, John Hibbing, Douglas Oxley, and Matthew Hibbing, **PlosONE**, (October, 2011).

“Linking Genetics and Political Attitudes: Re-Conceptualizing Political Ideology.” with Kevin Smith, John Hibbing, Douglas Oxley, and Matthew Hibbing, **Political Psychology**, (June, 2011).

“The Politics of Mate Choice.” with Peter Hatemi, John R. Hibbing, Nicholas Martin and Lindon Eaves, **Journal of Politics**, (March, 2011).

“Not by Twins Alone: Using the Extended Twin Family Design to Investigate the Genetic Basis of Political Beliefs” with Peter Hatemi, John Hibbing, Sarah Medland, Matthew Keller, Kevin Smith, Nicholas Martin, and Lindon Eaves, **American Journal of Political Science**, (July, 2010).

“The Ultimate Source of Political Opinions: Genes and the Environment” with John R. Hibbing in **Understanding Public Opinion**, 3rd Edition eds. Barbara Norrander and Clyde Wilcox, Washington D.C.: CQ Press, (2010).

“Is There a ‘Party’ in your Genes” with Peter Hatemi, John R. Hibbing, Nicholas Martin and Lindon Eaves, **Political Research Quarterly**, (September, 2009).

“Twin Studies, Molecular Genetics, Politics, and Tolerance: A Response to Beckwith and Morris” with John R. Hibbing and Cary Funk, **Perspectives on Politics**, (December, 2008). This is a solicited response to a critique of our 2005 APSR article “Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted?”

“Political Attitudes Vary with Physiological Traits” with Douglas R. Oxley, Kevin B. Smith, Matthew V. Hibbing, Jennifer L. Miller, Mario Scalora, Peter K. Hatemi, and John R. Hibbing, **Science**, (September 19, 2008).

“The New Empirical Biopolitics” with John R. Hibbing, **Annual Review of Political Science**, (June, 2008).

“Beyond Liberals and Conservatives to Political Genotypes and Phenotypes” with John R. Hibbing and Cary Funk, **Perspectives on Politics**, (June, 2008). This is a solicited response to a critique of our 2005 APSR article “Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted?”

"Personal, Interpersonal, and Political Temperaments" with John R. Hibbing, **Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science**, (November, 2007).

"Is Politics in our Genes?" with John R. Hibbing, **Tidsskriftet Politik**, (February, 2007).

"Biology and Rational Choice" with John R. Hibbing, **The Political Economist**, (Fall, 2005)

"Are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted?" with John R. Hibbing and Carolyn Funk, **American Political Science Review**, (May, 2005). (The main findings table from this article has been reprinted in two college level text books - Psychology, 9th ed. and Invitation to Psychology 4th ed. both by Wade and Tavis, Prentice Hall, 2007).

"The Origin of Politics: An Evolutionary Theory of Political Behavior" with John R. Hibbing, **Perspectives on Politics**, (December, 2004).

"Accepting Authoritative Decisions: Humans as Wary Cooperators" with John R. Hibbing, **American Journal of Political Science**, (January, 2004).

"Electoral Convergence of the Two Houses of Congress" with John R. Hibbing, in **The Exceptional Senate**, ed. Bruce Oppenheimer, Columbus: Ohio State University Press, (2002).

"We're All in this Together: The Decline of Trust in Government, 1958-1996." in **What is it About Government that Americans Dislike?**, eds. John Hibbing and Beth Theiss-Morse, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (2001).

"The 2000 Census and the New Redistricting," **Texas State Bar Association School Law Section Newsletter**, (July, 2000).

"Overdraft: The Political Cost of Congressional Malfeasance" with Holly Teeters, Dan Ward, and Rick Wilson, **Journal of Politics** (August, 1994).

"Personal and Partisan Advantage in U.S. Congressional Elections, 1846-1990" with David W. Brady, in **Congress Reconsidered** 5th edition, eds. Larry Dodd and Bruce Oppenheimer, CQ Press, (1993).

"The 1990 Congressional Election Results and the Fallacy that They Embodied an Anti-Incumbent Mood" with John R. Hibbing, **PS** 25 (June, 1992).

"Constituency Population and Representation in the United States Senate" with John R. Hibbing. **Legislative Studies Quarterly**, (November, 1990).

"Editors' Introduction: Electing the U.S. Senate" with Bruce I. Oppenheimer. **Legislative Studies Quarterly**, (November, 1990).

"Personal and Partisan Advantage in U.S. Congressional Elections, 1846-1990" with David W. Brady, in **Congress Reconsidered** 4th edition, eds. Larry Dodd and Bruce Oppenheimer, CQ Press, (1988). Reprinted in *The Congress of the United States, 1789-1989*, ed. Joel Silby, Carlson Publishing Inc., (1991), and in *The Quest for Office*, eds. Wayne and Wilcox, St. Martins Press, (1991).

"Can Government Regulate Fertility? An Assessment of Pro-natalist Policy in Eastern Europe" with Jerome Legge. **The Western Political Quarterly** (December, 1986).



"Partisanship and Voting" with James Campbell, Mary Munro, and Bruce Campbell, in **Research in Micropolitics. Volume 1 - Voting Behavior**. Samuel Long, ed. JAI Press, (1986).

"Economic Conditions and Individual Vote in the Federal Republic of Germany" with Jerome S. Legge. **Journal of Politics** (November, 1984).

"Television Markets and Congressional Elections" with James Campbell and Keith Henry. **Legislative Studies Quarterly** (November, 1984).

"Economic Conditions and the Forgotten Side of Congress: A Foray into U.S. Senate Elections" with John R. Hibbing, **British Journal of Political Science** (October, 1982).

"Increased Incumbency Advantage in the House" with John R. Hibbing, **Journal of Politics** (November, 1981). Reprinted in *The Congress of the United States, 1789-1989*, Carlson Publishing Inc., (1991).

"The Electoral Impact of Economic Conditions: Who is Held Responsible?" with John R. Hibbing, **American Journal of Political Science** (August, 1981).

"Comment on Increased Incumbency Advantage" with John R. Hibbing, Refereed communication: **American Political Science Review** (March, 1981).

"Can Government Regulate Safety? The Coal Mine Example" with Michael Lewis-Beck, **American Political Science Review** (September, 1980).

## Awards and Honors:

CQ Press Award - 1988, honoring the outstanding paper in legislative politics presented at the 1987 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Awarded for "The Demise of the Upper House and the Rise of the Senate: Electoral Responsiveness in the United States Senate" with John Hibbing.

## Research Grants:

National Science Foundation, 2009-2011, "Identifying the Biological Influences on Political Temperaments", with John Hibbing, Kevin Smith, Kim Espy, Nicolas Martin and Read Montague. This is a collaborative project involving Rice, University of Nebraska, Baylor College of Medicine, and Queensland Institute for Medical Research.

National Science Foundation, 2007-2010, "Genes and Politics: Providing the Necessary Data", with John Hibbing, Kevin Smith, and Lindon Eaves. This is a collaborative project involving Rice, University of Nebraska, Virginia Commonwealth University, and the University of Minnesota.

National Science Foundation, 2007-2010, "Investigating the Genetic Basis of Economic Behavior", with John Hibbing and Kevin Smith. This is a collaborative project involving Rice, University of Nebraska, Virginia Commonwealth University, and the Queensland Institute of Medical Research.

Rice University Faculty Initiatives Fund, 2007-2009, "The Biological Substrates of Political Behavior". This is in assistance of a collaborative project involving Rice, Baylor College of Medicine, Queensland Institute of Medical Research, University of Nebraska, Virginia Commonwealth University, and the University of Minnesota.

National Science Foundation, 2004-2006, "Decision-Making on Behalf of Others", with John Hibbing. This is a collaborative project involving Rice and the University of Nebraska.

National Science Foundation, 2001-2002, dissertation grant for Kevin Arceneaux, "Doctoral Dissertation Research in Political Science: Voting Behavior in the Context of U.S. Federalism."

National Science Foundation, 2000-2001, dissertation grant for Stacy Ulbig, "Doctoral Dissertation Research in Political Science: Sub-national Contextual Influences on Political Trust."

National Science Foundation, 1999-2000, dissertation grant for Richard Engstrom, "Doctoral Dissertation Research in Political Science: Electoral District Structure and Political Behavior."

Rice University Research Grant, 1985, Recent Trends in British Parliamentary Elections.

Faculty Research Grants Program, University of Georgia, Summer, 1982. Impact of Media Structure on Congressional Elections, with James Campbell.

## **Papers Presented:**

"The Physiological Basis of Political Temperaments" 6th European Consortium for Political Research General Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland (2011), with Kevin Smith, and John Hibbing.

"Identifying the Biological Influences on Political Temperaments" National Science Foundation Annual Human Social Dynamics Meeting (2010), with John Hibbing, Kimberly Espy, Nicholas Martin, Read Montague, and Kevin B. Smith.

"Political Orientations May Be Related to Detection of the Odor of Androstenone" Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (2010), with Kevin Smith, Amanda Balzer, Michael Gruszczynski, Carly M. Jacobs, and John Hibbing.

"Toward a Modern View of Political Man: Genetic and Environmental Transmission of Political Orientations from Attitude Intensity to Political Participation" Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC (2010), with Carolyn Funk, Kevin Smith, and John Hibbing.

"Genetic and Environmental Transmission of Political Involvement from Attitude Intensity to Political Participation" Annual meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology, San Francisco, CA (2010), with Carolyn Funk, Kevin Smith, and John Hibbing.

"Are Violations of the EEA Relevant to Political Attitudes and Behaviors?" Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (2010), with Kevin Smith, and John Hibbing.

"The Neural Basis of Representation" Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, Canada (2009), with John Hibbing.

“Genetic and Environmental Transmission of Value Orientations” Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, Canada (2009), with Carolyn Funk, Kevin Smith, Matthew Hibbing, Pete Hatemi, Robert Krueger, Lindon Eaves, and John Hibbing.

“The Genetic Heritability of Political Orientations: A New Twin Study of Political Attitudes” Annual Meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology, Dublin, Ireland (2009), with John Hibbing, Cary Funk, Kevin Smith, and Peter K Hatemi.

“The Heritability of Value Orientations” Annual meeting of the Behavior Genetics Association, Minneapolis, MN (2009), with Kevin Smith, John Hibbing, Carolyn Funk, Robert Krueger, Peter Hatemi, and Lindon Eaves.

“The Ick Factor: Disgust Sensitivity as a Predictor of Political Attitudes” Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (2009), with Kevin Smith, Douglas Oxley, Matthew Hibbing, and John Hibbing.

“The Ideological Animal: The Origins and Implications of Ideology” Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA (2008), with Kevin Smith, Matthew Hibbing, Douglas Oxley, and John Hibbing.

“The Physiological Differences of Liberals and Conservatives” Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (2008), with Kevin Smith, Douglas Oxley, and John Hibbing.

“Looking for Political Genes: The Influence of Serotonin on Political and Social Values” Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (2008), with Peter Hatemi, Sarah Medland, John Hibbing, and Nicholas Martin.

“Not by Twins Alone: Using the Extended Twin Family Design to Investigate the Genetic Basis of Political Beliefs” Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (2007), with Peter Hatemi, John Hibbing, Matthew Keller, Nicholas Martin, Sarah Medland, and Lindon Eaves.

“Factorial Association: A generalization of the Fulker between-within model to the multivariate case” Annual meeting of the Behavior Genetics Association, Amsterdam, The Netherlands (2007), with Sarah Medland, Peter Hatemi, John Hibbing, William Coventry, Nicholas Martin, and Michael Neale.

“Not by Twins Alone: Using the Extended Twin Family Design to Investigate the Genetic Basis of Political Beliefs” Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL (2007), with Peter Hatemi, John Hibbing, Nicholas Martin, and Lindon Eaves.

“Getting from Genes to Politics: The Connecting Role of Emotion-Reading Capability” Annual Meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology, Portland, OR, (2007.), with John Hibbing.

“The Neurological Basis of Representative Democracy.” Hendricks Conference on Political Behavior, Lincoln, NE (2006), with John Hibbing.

“The Neural Basis of Representative Democracy” Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA (2006), with John Hibbing.

“How are Political Orientations Genetically Transmitted? A Research Agenda” Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago Illinois (2006), with John Hibbing.

"The Politics of Mate Choice" Annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA (2006), with John Hibbing.

"The Challenge Evolutionary Biology Poses for Rational Choice" Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC (2005), with John Hibbing and Kevin Smith.

"Decision Making on Behalf of Others" Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC (2005), with John Hibbing.

"The Source of Political Attitudes and Behavior: Assessing Genetic and Environmental Contributions" Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago Illinois (2005), with John Hibbing and Carolyn Funk.

"The Source of Political Attitudes and Behavior: Assessing Genetic and Environmental Contributions" Annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago Illinois (2004), with John Hibbing and Carolyn Funk.

"Accepting Authoritative Decisions: Humans as Wary Cooperators" Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois (2002), with John Hibbing

"Can We Trust the NES Trust Measure?" Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois (2001), with Stacy Ulbig.

"The Impact of Organizational Structure on the Production of Social Capital Among Group Members" Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, Georgia (2000), with Allison Rinden.

"Isolating the Origins of Incumbency Advantage: An Analysis of House Primaries, 1956-1998" Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, Georgia (2000), with Kevin Arceneaux.

"The Electorally Indistinct Senate," Norman Thomas Conference on Senate Exceptionalism, Vanderbilt University; Nashville, Tennessee; October (1999), with John R. Hibbing.

"Interest Group Participation and Social Capital" Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois (1999), with Allison Rinden.

"We're All in this Together: The Decline of Trust in Government, 1958-1996." The Hendricks Symposium, University of Nebraska, Lincoln. (1998)

"Constituency Population and Representation in the United States Senate," Electing the Senate; Houston, Texas; December (1989), with John R. Hibbing.

"The Disparate Electoral Security of House and Senate Incumbents," American Political Science Association Annual Meetings; Atlanta, Georgia; September (1989), with John R. Hibbing.

"Partisan and Incumbent Advantage in House Elections," Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association (1987), with David W. Brady.

"Personal and Party Advantage in U.S. House Elections, 1846-1986" with David W. Brady, 1987 Social Science History Association Meetings.

"The Demise of the Upper House and the Rise of the Senate: Electoral Responsiveness in the United States Senate" with John Hibbing, 1987 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

"A Comparative Analysis of Economic Voting" with Jerome Legge, 1985 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

"An Analysis of Economic Conditions and the Individual Vote in Great Britain, 1964-1979" with Jerome Legge, 1985 Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association.

"Can Government Regulate Fertility? An Assessment of Pro-natalist Policy in Eastern Europe" with Jerome Legge, 1985 Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association.

"Economic Conditions and the Individual Vote in the Federal Republic of Germany" with Jerome S. Legge, 1984 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.

"The Conditions Required for Economic Issue Voting" with John R. Hibbing, 1984 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

"Incumbency Advantage in Senate Elections," 1983 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

"Television Markets and Congressional Elections: The Impact of Market/District Congruence" with James Campbell and Keith Henry, 1982 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.

"Economic Conditions and Senate Elections" with John R. Hibbing, 1982 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. "Pocketbook Voting: Economic Conditions and Individual Level Voting," 1982 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

"Increased Incumbency Advantage in the House," with John R. Hibbing, 1981 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

### **Other Conference Participation:**

Roundtable Participant – Closing Round-table on Biopolitics; 2016 UC Merced Conference on Bio-Politics and Political Psychology, Merced, CA.

Roundtable Participant "Genes, Brains, and Core Political Orientations" 2008 Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Political Science Association, Las Vegas.

Roundtable Participant "Politics in the Laboratory" 2007 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, New Orleans.

Short Course Lecturer, "What Neuroscience has to Offer Political Science" 2006 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Panel chair and discussant, "Neuro-scientific Advances in the Study of Political Science" 2006 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Presentation, "The Twin Study Approach to Assessing Genetic Influences on Political Behavior" Rice Conference on New Methods for Understanding Political Behavior, 2005.

Panel discussant, "The Political Consequences of Redistricting," 2002 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Panel discussant, "Race and Redistricting," 1999 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

Invited participant, "Roundtable on Public Dissatisfaction with American Political Institutions", 1998 Annual Meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association.

Presentation, "Redistricting in the '90s," Texas Economic and Demographic Association, 1997.

Panel chair, "Congressional Elections," 1992 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.

Panel discussant, "Incumbency and Congressional Elections," 1992 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Panel chair, "Issues in Legislative Elections," 1991 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

Panel chair, "Economic Attitudes and Public Policy in Europe," 1990 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association

Panel discussant, "Retrospective Voting in U.S. Elections," 1990 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

Co-convener, with Bruce Oppenheimer, of Electing the Senate, a national conference on the NES 1988 Senate Election Study. Funded by the Rice Institute for Policy Analysis, the University of Houston Center for Public Policy, and the National Science Foundation, Houston, Texas, December, 1989.

Invited participant, Understanding Congress: A Bicentennial Research Conference, Washington, D.C., February, 1989.

Invited participant--Hendricks Symposium on the United States Senate, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska, October, 1988

Invited participant--Conference on the History of Congress, Stanford University, Stanford, California, June, 1988.

Invited participant, "Roundtable on Partisan Realignment in the 1980's", 1987 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association.

## **Professional Activities:**

### **Other Universities:**

Invited Speaker, Annual Lecture, Psi Kappa -the Psychology Club at Houston Community College, 2018.

Invited Speaker, Annual Allman Family Lecture, Dedman College Interdisciplinary Institute, Southern Methodist University, 2016.

Invited Speaker, Annual Lecture, Psi Sigma Alpha – Political Science Dept., Oklahoma State University, 2015.

Invited Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Vanderbilt University, 2014.

Invited Speaker, Annual Lecture, Psi Kappa -the Psychology Club at Houston Community College, 2014.

Invited Speaker, Graduate Student Colloquium, Department of Political Science, University of New Mexico, 2013.

Invited Keynote Speaker, Political Science Alumni Evening, University of Houston, 2013.

Invited Lecturer, Biology and Politics Masters Seminar (John Geer and David Bader), Department of Political Science and Biology Department, Vanderbilt University, 2010.

Invited Lecturer, Biology and Politics Senior Seminar (John Geer and David Bader), Department of Political Science and Biology Department, Vanderbilt University, 2008.

Visiting Fellow, the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, 2007.

Invited Speaker, Joint Political Psychology Graduate Seminar, University of Minnesota, 2007.

Invited Speaker, Department of Political Science, Vanderbilt University, 2006.

#### **Member:**

Editorial Board, Politics and the Life Sciences, 2025.

Editorial Board, Journal of Politics, 2007-2008.

Planning Committee for the National Election Studies' Senate Election Study, 1990-92.

Nominations Committee, Social Science History Association, 1988

#### **Reviewer for:**

American Journal of Political Science

American Political Science Review

American Politics Research

American Politics Quarterly

American Psychologist

American Sociological Review

Canadian Journal of Political Science

Comparative Politics

Electoral Studies



Evolution and Human Behavior  
International Studies Quarterly  
Journal of Politics  
Journal of Urban Affairs  
Legislative Studies Quarterly  
National Science Foundation  
PLoS ONE  
Policy Studies Review  
Political Behavior  
Political Communication  
Political Psychology  
Political Research Quarterly  
Public Opinion Quarterly  
Science  
Security Studies  
Social Forces  
Social Science Quarterly  
Western Political Quarterly

### **University Service:**

Department - Interim Director of Undergraduate Studies 2025

Member, University Senate, 2021-2023.

Member, University Parking Committee, 2016-2023.

Member, University Benefits Committee, 2013-2016.

Internship Director for the Department of Political Science, 2004-2018.

Member, University Council, 2012-2013.

Invited Speaker, Rice Classroom Connect, 2016.

Invited Speaker, Glasscock School, 2016.

Invited Speaker, Rice Alumni Association, Austin, 2016.

Invited Speaker, Rice Alumni Association, New York City, 2016.

Invited Speaker, Rice TEDxRiceU , 2013.

Invited Speaker, Rice Alumni Association, Atlanta, 2011.

Lecturer, Advanced Topics in AP Psychology, Rice University AP Summer Institute, 2009.

Scientia Lecture Series: "Politics in Our Genes: The Biology of Ideology" 2008

Invited Speaker, Rice Alumni Association, Seattle, San Francisco and Los Angeles, 2008.



Invited Speaker, Rice Alumni Association, Austin, Chicago and Washington, DC, 2006.

Invited Speaker, Rice Alumni Association, Dallas and New York, 2005.

Director: Rice University Behavioral Research Lab and Social Science Computing Lab, 2005-2006.

University Official Representative to the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, 1989-2012.

Director: Rice University Social Science Computing Lab, 1989-2004.

Member, Rice University Information Technology Access and Security Committee, 2001-2002

Rice University Committee on Computers, Member, 1988-1992, 1995-1996; Chair, 1996-1998, Co-chair, 1999.

Acting Chairman, Rice Institute for Policy Analysis, 1991-1992.

Divisional Member of the John W. Gardner Dissertation Award Selection Committee, 1998

Social Science Representative to the Educational Sub-committee of the Computer Planning Committee, 1989-1990.

Director of Graduate Admissions, Department of Political Science, Rice University, 1986-1988.

Co-director, Mellon Workshop: Southern Politics, May, 1988.

Guest Lecturer, Mellon Workshop: The U.S. Congress in Historical Perspective, May, 1987 and 1988.

Faculty Associate, Hanszen College, Rice University, 1987-1990.

Director, Political Data Analysis Center, University of Georgia, 1982-1985.

## **External:**

Expert Witness, Angleton ISD, 2025.

Expert Witness, Humble ISD, 2024.

Expert Witness, City of Miami, 2023.

Expert Witness, State of North Carolina, 2023.

Expert Witness, State of Mississippi, 2023.

Expert Witness, State of Florida, 2023.

Expert Witness, LULAC et al v. City of Houston, racially polarized voting analysis, 2023.

Expert Witness, Shafer et al v. Pearland ISD, racially polarized voting analysis, 2023.

Expert Witness, Johnson v. Wisconsin Elections Commission, racially polarized voting analysis, 2023.

Expert Witness, Palmer v. Hobbs, State of Washington redistricting, racially polarized voting analysis, 2023.

Expert Witness, 10 consolidated cases challenging Texas redistricting, racially polarized voting analysis, 2023.

Expert Witness, Suttlar, et al v. State of Arkansas, racially polarized voting analysis, 2023.

Expert Witness, Elizondo v. Spring Branch ISD, racially polarized voting analysis, 2023.

Expert Witness, United States v. Galveston County, racially polarized voting analysis, 2023.

Expert Witness, Dixon v. Lewisville ISD, racially polarized voting analysis, 2023.

Expert Witness, Pendergrass v. State of Georgia, racially polarized voting analysis, 2023.

Expert Witness, Rivera, et al v. State of Kansas, racially polarized voting analysis, 2022.

Expert Witness, Robinson v. Ardoin, (Louisiana), racially polarized voting analysis, 2022.

Expert Witness, Christian Ministerial Alliance et al v. State of Arkansas, racially polarized voting analysis, 2021.